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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1962



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## ALBANIA

### DUTCH REPORTER VIEWS ALBANIAN DOMESTIC SITUATION

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 12 Dec 81 pp 21, 31

[Report by Frits Schaling: "Albania: Test-tube of the Revolution"]

[Text] A visit to distant (in all respects) Albania causes even a world-wise Western reporter to be perturbed.

Culture Shock is somewhat too big a word for his experiences. However, the inhabitants of Tirana made him feel like a medieval leper.

A travel report from the country where God -- as well as everything he forbade -- is taboo.

On foot, carrying a suitcase, I arrive that Monday morning at exactly 10 am on a different planet. The Yugoslav border officials look at me somewhat compassionately as I get out of the taxi which brought me from the Montenegrin capital Titograd to the border crossing near Shkoder lake, surrounded by grey mountains. As I walk the 200 meters between the Yugoslav and Albanian barriers there is complete silence, interrupted only by the chirping of sparrows which fly freely between the two countries.

An armed Albanian border guard patrolling in the no-man's-land doesn't react to my greeting, but in the distance an unarmed colleague appears, obviously knowledgeable about the fact that that morning at 10 am a Dutch journalist is arriving. He accompanies me to the border office, an immense space -- of the type I will still see numerous times in hotel lobbies, museum halls or cultural palaces -- where a bust of Enver Hoxha, surrounded by small palm trees, insures a sacred atmosphere.

The hall is filled with small tables and armchairs in lilac and pale orange covers. Along one of the walls, decorated in light blue and light green -- the pastel colors which appear to symbolize warmth, conviviality and prosperity in Albania -- there is a bookcase with translations of the recent works of the Albanian party leader. In the middle there is a showcase with the familiar knick-knacks that can be bought for foreign currency: handwoven purses, wood carvings, small copper cans, Albanian brandy and cigarettes.

On the other wall the first slogan: "Even if we have to go without food, we Albanians will not disavow our principles, we will not be traitors to Marxism-Leninism." An hour later, when I have been handed over to the department chief of the Committee for Cultural and Friendly Foreign Relations who has just arrived, Albania opens itself up to me. A gate over the road, provided with screens to block the view, slowly moves aside and the harsh green Polish Fiat in which I am being transported can pass. An exercise in alienation, lasting many days, is starting.

Alienation because it seems that the categories in which the Westerner is accustomed to think are completely absent in Albania. The possibility to find out whether that is an optical illusion simply doesn't exist.

It isn't even exactly a culture shock which the Western visitor experiences in Albania. Despite the fact that the country was under the Ottoman domination for almost 5 centuries, it is unmistakably Europe that one encounters: the citadel built three centuries before Christ -- before our era the Albanians prefer to say -- the magnificent cities of Berat and Gjirokaster, built against the mountains in the south; the remains of ancient cities and amphitheatres in Butrint and Durres on the coast. The history, the landscape, the people, everything is recognizably European.

Nevertheless, Albania is different and that realization often forces itself upon a person so overbearingly that it becomes almost oppressive. Various foreign visitors have compared the situation of a Westerner in Albania with that of a medieval leper who announced his arrival with a rattle.

When one walks through the streets of Tirana alone, without a guide, primarily one's shoes -- which Albanians immediately take for a sign of capitalism -- function as that rattle. From your shoes, the gaze of the Albanian passer-by goes to infinity; you have been classified and you continue on as a space traveller on a space walk. Foreigners who have been living in Albania for a while experience the same isolation. Their conversations with Albanians are limited to remarks on the weather; their social contacts take place exclusively within the small diplomatic community -- there are 16 embassies in Tirana, including the Greek, Italian, Turkish and French one -- and a Western diplomat characterizes the life of foreigners in Albania as "hell."

But is that true for Albanians themselves? After a centuries-long domination by the Turks and after having been the puppet of conflicts of interest between superpowers for decades, the Albanians, under the iron leadership of the communist party, started an experiment in 1944 which without exaggeration can be called the "revolution in a test-tube."

#### Utopia

Without making any concessions to the change in policy forced by practical considerations which brought the Soviet Union to de-Stalinization and China to rapprochement with the West, Enver Hoxha adhered to an orthodox explanation of the theory which according to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin would lead to the one and only Utopia. Professor Zija Xholi, head of the department of philosophy of the University of Tirana, for example, says that "Comrade Hoxha proved that Lenin's



principles are still valid and that Marxism as a philosophy can also be applied to modern times. The wealth of the bourgeoisie still exists, only the contrasts have now been shifted to the difference between developed and underdeveloped countries. We can do nothing but continue to follow the principles of Marxism/Leninism."

Consistently sticking to the letter of Marxist evangelism, Albania thus grew into a pure communist culture where agriculture is almost totally collectivized, where religion no longer exists, at least not in any outward form, and where personal property is limited to a bicycle (costing about 1.5 times the monthly income), a watch, an alarm clock, a radio, sometimes a TV set, and some household appliances.

Albania is a country without a department of justice, because the administration of justice usually takes place at the lower levels; those who make mistakes are tried by the people around them. It is also the state where a new human being is originating who "works in the interest of society as if it were his own interest," as explained by a man who looks as if he just left the church council meeting of the Calvinist Bond in a Dutch hamlet. Depending on one's basic position, humanistic or materialistic, one can judge the results of the social experiment taking place in Albania as horrifying and insane, or as impressive and positive.

In comparison to the period before the second world war, when Albania was the poorest and most backward country of Europe, an astronomical progress has been achieved: the barely 10 percent of the mountainous country which was suitable for agriculture at that time has been doubled through drainage of swamps, irrigation, and terrassing of hills, so that now the country is able to feed itself.

The construction of continually more gigantic dams was coupled with the electrification of the most isolated hamlets, and the growing electricity surplus is being exported to countries such as Yugoslavia and Greece. Malaria and syphilis, the two diseases which 40 years ago still claimed the greatest number of victims, have been eliminated and the average lifespan of Albanians has risen from 38 to 68 years. "If we still had King Zog (who escaped the country in 1939 after the Italian invasion), that development would have taken us 350 years," says Jovan Vujoshi, the director of the polytechnic school in Shkoder.

#### Under Its Own Steam

Of course the Albanians are aware of the fact that their standard of living is still low compared to that of the Western world, but they console themselves with the thought that in a much greater number of countries in the world the development level is much lower. When they look at their neighboring country of Yugoslavia, they see that there are many more things for sale in the stores, but that, on the other hand, Yugoslavia has a debt of over 20 billion dollars.

"We know from experience that financial dependence also carries along political dependence," says the scientific secretary of the Albanian academy of sciences, Professor Luan Omari. Albania has laid down in its Constitution that the country does not accept loans, does not let in multinationals and does not enter into joint ventures. That is not due to xenophobia," says Professor Omari, "but due to our determination to stand on our own legs."

"We are building the 5-year plan under our own steam," one of the slogans around the Skenderbeg Square also vows. Skenderbeg, the legendary Albanian hero who successfully defended himself against the Turks for several decades in the middle of the 15th century, offers inspiration from the past for the challenge of today taken on by the Albanians after the rupture with China. Skenderbeg is the symbol of pride and inflexibility whose cult almost matches that of Enver Hoxha.

Just as sacrosanct is the plan which regulates not only the economy of the country, but also the life of every Albanian to the smallest detail. Experiments made about 10 years ago to decentralize the decision-making process a little were rapidly halted when it became clear that the greater freedom of local managers led to "voluntarism" and to the tendency of "technocrats" to want a more direct contact with the West.

Currently the centralized planning based in Tirana is all-powerful again: every contact with abroad has to go via the capital. Whether it is a matter of foreign books and magazines for the library of a small provincial town or the trip of members of the Greek minority in the south of the country to Athens, permission for that comes from Tirana, where such a request is judged on the needs embedded in the plan.

#### Levelling

Just as precisely calculated is the need of the country for university graduates. The universities are annually given an overview as to the number of graduates which have to be delivered by the various departments. Good students are assured of a job as a member of the cadre assigned to him by the state. Those who fail the exams have to be satisfied with a more modest job: instead of engineer in a factory, he becomes a foreman, for example. The financial differences are negligible: the highest salaries in Albania usually are no more than twice the minimum wage.

"We fight for a general improvement of the standard of living, but no single individual or group is allowed to become rich," says an Albanian discussion partner. That explains why private possession of automobiles won't exist for a while in Albania. That it might come about sometime in the future is not categorically excluded, but at this moment (thus argues the Albanian leadership) there are other priorities in the economy. The only people who have access to motorized private transportation are invalids who are allocated a three-wheeled vehicle by the state.

Aside from the loudly honking, often delapidated Eastern European trucks and buses, which Albania has also been producing since recently, the traffic in the capital of Tirana makes an almost dreamy impression. An amorous couple is strolling freely in the middle of the wide Stalin Boulevard, and a cyclist making a left turn all of a sudden brushes past without a sound. Also cars which turn a corner often don't bother to indicate direction. On the sparse country roads, pedestrians, horses-and-buggies, chickens and turkeys no longer have the place all to themselves, but car drivers are always responsible when something happens. Thus our chauffeur, who continually exceeds the 60 km per hour limit on country roads, remains very conscious of the fact that the small group of boys romping along the road a hundred meters ahead might all of a sudden dart onto the road.



"A country of contrasts," my guide smartly remarks when the car cautiously threads its way among the cows trudging on the road, while a truck is approaching from the other direction. Albania is not planning, however, to bridge those contrasts rapidly. Transportation is still taking place largely the same way it has been for a long time: with ox carts and characteristic horses-and-buggies with a sort of wooden "cabin" over the driver's seat.

Albanians utilize all sorts of means at their disposal even if they are old-fashioned or "unproductive." Productivity in any event is not a norm which plays a big role in Albania. Although government officials complain that productivity could be higher and that there is still too much "lack of discipline," they are not really worried about it. At the textile factory in Berat I get non-comprehending looks when I suggest that 6000 workers for this factory seems a lot to me in comparison to the production. "In the West," the sharp answer is, "one tries to get the highest possible production with the lowest possible number of people. Our principal concern is that people have work, not a maximum in productivity."

The national defense is just as tightly organized as the economy of the country. All Albanians, men and women, are subject to the draft to age 50. After 2 years of military training, everyone has to go for one month of refresher training every year. Under the slogan: "Albania lives in peace, but continually guards against attack" the country is strewn with mushroom-like small cement bunkers. No matter how dubious the effectiveness of those often not-too-solid appearing, covered pill-boxes may seem, they undoubtedly serve to strengthen the national self-confidence and feeling of solidarity of the Albanians.

Completing the blueprint for a communist society has made Albania the first atheist country in the world. Churches and mosques have been torn down or are being used as sport halls or storage spaces of movie halls, and only valuable cultural monuments have remained intact. The mosque of Berat, for example, looks like a mosque, but upon entering one finds out it is being used as a museum of architecture. Everything which reminds of the three religions of the country -- in the past, 70 percent of Albanians were muslim, 20 percent orthodox and 10 percent roman catholic -- has disappeared. Funerals have become an exclusively secular affair.

"Of course we cannot keep people from having religious thoughts," says the poet Pano Cuka, a member of the Greek minority, "but the new religion in our country is called 'Albanianism.'" The fact that candles are nevertheless burned on the graves of the deceased is not denied but is attributed to the fact that religion still influences the minds of older people.

#### Taboos

Is a "new human being" originating in Albania? That question is usually answered in the affirmative, whereby one gives as an example the enormous effort with which volunteers helped repair the damage caused by the earthquake in 1979 in the northern part of the country. But what is still voluntary in a country in which social control penetrates so deeply into the pores of human consciousness?

Society condemns everything in Albania which deviates from the norm established by the regime. Homosexuality, premarital sex, prostitution, pornography, pop music and other modern forms of expression of the Western culture are taboos. Those who sin against those norms can count on "correction" by society in the form of forced labor.

For the time being it does not look as if the careful opening made toward the West by Albania has led to the "degenerating phenomena" which the puritan leadership abhors so much. Albania has opened the door a crack, but the chain is still firmly attached.

8700

CSO: 3105/60

# CONSTRUCTION TROOPS CHIEF STRESSES SHORTCOMINGS

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Lieutenant-General Vasil Vasilev, chief of construction troops: "The Quality of Construction Works Is an Inalienable Duty of Every Serviceman"]

[Text] The 12th congress of BCP has set before us the task to improve decisively the quality of construction work. Its effective realization depends not only on production-economic factors, technology and organization of construction, implementation of platoon organization and optimization of working processes, but also on a broad basis of moral, social and political problems. The Construction Troops have taken purposeful measures and achieved certain results in improvements of construction and installment activities. Quality is being viewed not only as a factor of great economic significance, but also as a factor which has tremendous social, ideological and political impact. There isn't a serviceman who fails to see clearly that we pay dearly for the existing shortcomings in our construction and installment activities.

We have talked for several years about restructuring our activity so that it meets the requirements of the new economic approach and its mechanisms, but in practice, some commanders continue to neglect quality. At many projects the prescribed technologies are violated, substandard materials are supplied, while poor care is taken of other materials. Still, after delivery of some construction project, work is required to eliminate some faults. Additional labor, materials and other resources are being used. All this causes losses to the country's economy. Such an approach, such an attitude in quality in the full implementation of the new economic mechanism would affect adversely the financial condition of the units as well as the material and social security of the servicemen.

Well organized, deeply meaningful and salutary labor is the most durable educational factor. The management of some projects, carried away by the fulfillment of economic indices and dealing with shortcomings, often neglects the compulsory technological sequence. We have to fight against such style of work. We have to realize that in the construction troops we have the responsible task to raise the technical culture and aesthetic taste of our soldiers. We are building thousands of apartments, hundreds of industrial and utility buildings which will satisfy the needs of the working population and will contribute to its aesthetic education for years to come.

The rapid and comprehensive implementation of scientific achievements and leading experience is of vital importance for the improvement of quality in construction activities. In this respect, a great deal has been done in the construction troops, but there is still some narrowness of goals in some organizations. Good plans are approved, many initiatives are fulfilled, successful technical projects and suggestions are made; machines, instruments and equipment with high productive parameters are shown at exhibitions of INTM (Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity), but alarmingly little is done for their consequent implementation. How, then, are they going to be used in practice?

Despite the presence of the required number of engineers and technicians, we allow complex and requiring precision construction tasks to be executed in a primitive way, without the utilization of the necessary instruments and technique. At the same time we keep mechanized instruments and machines in the warehouse and remember them only at inventory time.

There is still a great deal to be desired in planning, studying, implementing and popularizing the positive experience in the struggle for quality. Within a unit, or even within a sub-unit, the positive experience of one team remains unknown to the others.

It is not accidental that a system of service and public organs for quality management was created in the construction troops. Their work is useful. When we evaluate their merits from the point of view of congressional decisions and normative documents and when we take into consideration the present condition of the quality in our construction projects, we will understand that there is much more room for improvement in this area.

The measures for re-training of engineers and technicians, and especially those of them directly involved in production, is insufficient. There are commanders and technicians who don't know well the novelties and requirements, are unable to work with measuring instruments, trust the master-builders too much and rely heavily on them, make gross errors, and show conciliatoriness and primitivism.

Formalism is allowed in the further training of rank-and-file soldiers. A great number of young people are still without special skills. The role of the master-builder is underestimated even if his work constitutes a considerable part of the working force. Highly rated specialists are rarely sent for training; there are almost no qualification courses for them.

The units seriously underestimate the public organs' work for quality. The created commissions sometimes exist only formally. Platoon councils intervene insufficiently; the servicemen community often remains indifferent to this problem. The daily control is neglected. The committees, commissions and groups for state and public control do not exhibit enough initiative for routine and surprise inspections.

Many of the good initiatives and suggestions remain only on paper. For example, the Saratov system for flawless production is not popularized and implemented, the movement for personal quality stamp is neglected, as well as the issuing of warranty passports for the constructed apartments; forgotten too is the conducting of quality days etc.

We can say with certainty that the shortcomings and the unresolved quality problems in the construction activity are mainly subjective in character. Commanders, specialists, politorgans, party, trade union, and youth communist organizations have to exert a great deal of efforts to make their activity fully compatible with the requirements. At many places the commanding-organizational and party-political work for raising the cadres' responsibility for quality is not efficient enough. The violation of labor and technological discipline aggravates the quality of the construction work at some projects.

The development of a comprehensive system for management of quality should become our primary concern. Concrete measures should be taken for the creation of all necessary economic, technical, organizational and business preconditions for the improvement of our activity in this important index. We should begin from the Chief Administration of Construction Troops and reach down to the platoon level. Every serviceman should understand that the quality problem is of exceptional importance.

The comprehensive implementation of the requirements of the new economic mechanism, the introduction of platoon labor organization and platoon self-accounting will be a powerful factor for the successful fulfillment of the task for the improvement of quality and efficiency in construction work. The road to high quality has to pass through strengthening of labor, technological, financial and military discipline. Exactly this should be the inalienable responsibility of all commanders, specialists, party, trade union, and youth communist organizations.

Headquarters and the Political Administration believe that officers, specialists, foremen and soldiers will realize the importance of the issue and that the units will respond with concrete and effective deeds.

9804

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SHARP CRITICISM OF FILM INDUSTRY, TELEVISION VOICED

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Nov 81 p 7

['Ws' article, datelined Berlin, 18 November: "Too Reluctant to Broach the Socialist Way of Life--A Mechanic is Allowed to Criticize GDR Film Makers--Presentation of the Private 'Counterrevolutionary.'" A translation of the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In the GDR, the feature film production of the TV network and of DEFA, the republic's public motion picture company, has been subjected to sharp criticism. Apparently, it was in preparation for a discussion at the forthcoming plenary session of the SED Central Committee that on Tuesday [17 November 1981] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the SED's central party organ, published--in place of the customary commentary--a long letter to the editor entitled "A Reader's Expectations of DEFA and Television: 'What More I Would Like to See From Our Film Makers.'" In this unusual editorial of the party organ, Hubert Vater, chief mechanic at the Erfurt Kraftverkehr [Motor Transportation] VEB, stated he had the impression "that presently we are being offered a number of insignificant and boring films." He said he did not only mean various imported films "many of which I consider a waste of money," but also productions turned out by DEFA and television studios.

Vater pointed out that DEFA had established its reputation through militant films and that "the conscious advocacy of socialism" had always been apparent. But now, he said, it appeared there was a lack of films living up to the social requirement--formulated by Honecker at the 10th SED Congress--to the effect that socialist works of art should initiate public discussion concerning the intellectual requirements and moral value concepts of society. The chief mechanic stated that most films "say too little about us and our time. Where are the works of art that make us aware of the--let me say--titanic dimensions of the achievement that is reflected in the construction and development of our stable and flourishing workers' and farmers' state?"

The worker, who the SED organ turned into an editorialist, specified what films he would like to see. He wants films that "help to make political and moral decisions, that present us with experience distilled from the life of the people." As examples, he mentions the development of new large-scale and efficient production units, i.e. the combines, and the housing construction program. He accuses the film makers of being too timid in approaching socialist life. He conjectures that their

difficulties may be due to their own insufficiencies, to "their dealing merely with insignificant little problems, their forgoing social impact"; or it might be due to the fact that they are not sufficiently encouraged to seek their subjects "not at the fringes, but at the center of events." Vater argues that in those places where the working class accomplishes its great achievements strong personalities are formed and tested; under such conditions, one has to show one's colors and prove through one's actions that one is true to one's socialist convictions. Vater states that he would like to see more frequently in films or on the TV screen individuals he regards as models. He feels that this is not asking too much.

#### GDR Mechanic's Criticism

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 81 p 2

[Lead article by Hubert Vater, master mechanic, VEB for Motor Traffic, Erfurt: "A Reader's Expectations of DEFA and Television: What More I Would Like to See From Our Film Makers"]

[Text] For some time, I have been asking myself whether I expect too much when I go to the movies and whether it is for this reason that I am disappointed at some films or whether my dissatisfaction is justified. Since 1970, some film-oriented colleagues at our transportation combine (I myself am a member of this group) have with their wives been attending the "Cinema Meetings" of Erfurt Bezirk's [GDR administrative unit] Film Administration. After the picture shows, we frequently engage in discussions in the cinema club, which maintains steady contact with us. So we have for some time been presented with the latest films. I have the impression--and other viewers share this view--that presently we are offered quite a few insignificant and boring films.

Here I am referring not only to some imported films, many of which I consider a waste of money, but also to productions of our own studios--both those of DEFA and of the television network.

#### The Contribution of Art Is Important and Unique

The DEFA established its reputation through films that move and impress one even today, 30 years later. At the time they were produced they were even more impressive. Imbued with great social commitment, they broached questions that at that time were of crucial importance to the people. A good illustration in this regard is the film "The Murderers Are Among Us," which was DEFA's very first feature film.

Whenever I hear the statement that art can make a very special, absolutely unique contribution to man's awareness, there immediately come to my mind the books, plays and DEFA films of those early years of antifascist-democratic reconstruction.

DEFA's militant tradition, its conscious advocacy of socialism was always apparent, even though in subsequent years not every film met the self-imposed high standards. For the sake of fairness, I must say that I considered excellent a number of recent films, e.g. "The Fiancee," "Ring-Doves Do Not Weep," and "Roof Over the Head." But as I said, it seems to me that the really good, interesting films, which after all should be full of suspense and entertaining as well, are too rare; I feel that their share of the total production--television included--should be greater.

## Every Premiere Should Really Be an Event

The striving for efficiency, which determines our entire economic activity, should be applied to the realm of art as well. What do I mean by that? Well, we certainly do not have at our disposal an unlimited number of artistic talents. I am sure that in the field of film production, too, it is necessary to economize on material resources. So these resources should not be wasted on trifling projects. I am thinking here of films such as "Also-Ran or Victory," "Don't We Make a Nice Couple" and some other films I went to see. Should not the film makers do their utmost to make every one of their films a social event?

At the 10th SED Congress, Erich Honecker spoke of the "public discussion concerning the intellectual requirements and moral value concepts of our society," which discussion is supposed to be initiated by socialist works of art. Honecker explicitly included films and TV plays. I feel that a social requirement has been raised here and in my view the latest film production comprised too few films that meet this standard.

## What Does the Viewer Learn About Us and Our Times?

I am no expert, even though I have always taken a special interest in films. So I do not know why our movie theaters show films that in my opinion leave the audience unmoved. In regard to subject matter and artistic expression, there is hardly a single film among those recently produced that I would call remarkable. Most of these films say too little about us and our time.

I feel these films take insufficient pride in the great achievements that the working class and its party--in collaboration with all the working people of our country--has accomplished in the last decades. Where are the works of art that make us aware of the--let me say--titanic dimensions of the achievement that is reflected in the construction and development of our stable and flourishing workers' and farmers' state? After all, we made great sacrifices in transforming this state from intellectual and material ruins, from hopelessness and lethargy into what it is today.

As I pointed out, I see too little of this. Or consider the present: Everywhere, there are significant social changes. Problems are arising that concern all of us. How can we solve these problems in a constructive way? Do we receive from our films experience distilled from the life of the people; do they help us to make the politically and morally correct decisions?

I would like to mention here the housing construction program. Is not this great social project--the past efforts at implementation and the consistency of our present, continuing efforts--a tremendous achievement? Even in highly developed capitalist industrialized countries, the program is held in high esteem--for obvious reasons: In these countries, social programs of this type could not even be considered, let alone launched. Instead, the workers are weighed down with more and more social burdens, in accordance with the motto: Missiles instead of butter! New apartments for worker families? Police truncheons for those who protest against capitalist rack rents. We have been witnessing all this in our immediate neighborhood, in West Berlin.

## New Living Conditions Provide Topics

Housing construction program--that means new living conditions for millions of people; personality development for those who move into these apartments and also for those who build these apartments. Thousands of young people from all parts of our republic have come to Berlin, in order to build the new residential districts. How many life stories are bound up with this, how many personal conflicts, how much everyday heroism? During the recent Central Committee report of the young construction workers, we saw them, the competent boys in their work overalls. These are self-confident, free young workers, who deep down in their hearts, feel closely linked with their socialist state. Can one really say that this is no subject for our film makers?

The same goes for another significant social process: For the development of new large-scale and efficient production units, that is to say, our combines. These are socialist enterprises characterized by unprecedented material capacities. How much responsibility and decision-making initiative is concentrated in these combines? How are they utilized and are they utilized for the benefit of the people rather than for profit? And what problems are they confronted with? How much courage is needed for facing up to the requirements resulting from the scientific-technological revolution, from the developments in the world markets?

## Why Approach the Human Condition So Timidly?

This and much more is part of our socialist life. Sometimes I have the impression that our film makers have not been very successful in this field. Their approach is overly timid. Perhaps it is due to their own insufficiencies, their lack of ambition, their dealing only with insignificant little problems, their forgoing social impact. But perhaps it is due to the fact that they are not sufficiently encouraged to seek their subjects not at the fringes, but at the center of events.

I am convinced that in those places where the working class accomplishes its great achievements strong personalities are formed and tested. It cannot be otherwise. Under such conditions, one must show one's colors; one must prove by one's actions that one is true to one's socialist convictions. I would like to see more frequently in films or on the TV screen such individuals whom I regard as models. I would like to get to know and share their concerns and joys; I would like to weep and laugh with them.

Is this asking too much? Are my expectations excessive?

8760

CSO: 2300/66



# OPERATION OF SPECIAL MILITARY TRAINS ANNOUNCED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 45, 7 Nov 81 p 11

[Article by Peter Buki: "Every Two Weeks: Special Military Trains"]

[Text] According to a notice sent to the troops by the Military Transport Main Directorate of the Hungarian People's Army special military trains will start a regular weekend schedule beginning 13 November 1981 for soldiers traveling on passes or leave. In the name of our interested readers we asked Captain Bela Petrak, chief of the transport department, for details about the new possibilities which will favorably influence trips home by soldiers.

[Question] What made it necessary to start the special military trains?

[Answer] The collective of the transportation service of the People's Army has been searching for years for a way to make it possible for soldiers going home or returning on weekends to travel more comfortably, under cultured circumstances and in a shorter time. By the fall of this year we succeeded in creating conditions which will ease the travel problems of soldiers and expand the care taken of them.

[Question] What are the new possibilities offered by the special train?

[Answer] The trains will start every two weeks--at the end of every second week--on Friday afternoon from two garrisons, from Lenti and Szombathely, with 11 and 9 passenger cars respectively. The two trains will unite at Celldomok and will travel on with 20 passenger cars, touching at Győr, Budapest, Szolnok and Nyíregyháza, without transferring, to Miskolc, arriving there at dawn Saturday. According to our preliminary calculations this will substantially shorten travel time for many hundred young soldiers on these weekends so they can spend a larger part of their passes or leaves with their families, loved ones and friends. Only professional soldiers and draftees can travel on the train, with travel documents valid for second class on an express train. It should be noted that although the special train takes a roundabout route tickets must be exchanged for the shortest route according to the schedule of fares.

[Question] And the return?

[Answer] The special train starts back from Miskolc Sunday evening and takes the same route. The schedule guarantees that travelers will return relatively rested to their barracks before the start of Monday training.



[Question] And what do you expect from the travelers on the special military train?

[Answer] First of all that they will make use of this opportunity! They should be careful of the cleanliness of the cars, of the equipment and condition of them and of the health of each other. We are distributing questionnaires to the first travelers on the special train; filling these out in a precise and considered way will make it easier for us to take into consideration even better the interests of the traveling soldiers. We ask the commanders to make it possible for soldiers getting ready to travel to buy their tickets in advance--perhaps with the help of a fellow soldier designated for this purpose--so the travelers will not have to crowd around the ticket booth and worry about whether the train is coming. And we ask them to organize transportation to and from the train station for personnel traveling on the special train.

[Question] Is there a possibility you will increase the number of special military weekend trains or expand the routes?

[Answer] If experience justifies it we will modernize the schedule beginning next year, taking into consideration the needs. If possible we will increase the number of runs. Until then we wish the future travelers on the special military weekend trains good traveling and happy arrivals!

8984

CSO: 2500/80

Key to Schedule:

Erk. = Arrive

Ind. = Depart

Allomas. = Station

IMPORTANCE OF INDEPENDENT POLISH STATEHOOD STRESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by: Jerzy A. Salecki "Our Common Wealth And Only Hope"]

[Text] Attacks against the state were becoming increasingly numerous from month to month. Hundreds of strikes for any trifling reason, or no reason at all, senseless strikes, provoked by fervor, ill will, lack of imagination or even naivete were paralyzing the economy and increasing its problems.

Loud-mouthed demagogical propaganda of street slogans and mimeographed leaflets, playing up to the old traumas or emotions and ignorance, enhanced a mood of uncertainty, anxiety and confusion. Irresponsible pronouncements and threats formulated in the official declarations of so-called liberals fighting the "regime" helped multiply social divisions by counterposing citizens against one another.

The seemingly attractive, abundantly "democratic" concepts for the formation of new organs of society actually foreordained deprivation of the Sejm, people's councils, the government and the economic and local executive apparatus of their real authority. The massive assault on the structure of the state emboldened the riffraff of society, it fostered the concealment of inertia and indolence of ineffectual officials and promoted the widespread failure to enforce existing laws, to non-enforcement and the bypassing and violation of existing laws.

The Republic was threatened by a wave of anarchy. Instead of being genuinely self-governing—which is, after all, the essence of socialist democracy—it would have become a state of a thousand mini-parliaments, rather than the Sejm. It would have become a state of diverse clubs rather than people's councils accountable to the voters and having authority to govern but would have become a state of various confederacies, parties and associations whose common goal it was to weaken the socialist state. It would have given birth to a country torn apart by contradictions and by antagonistic cliques.

Could this have been consented to?

Consolidation of the state and establishment of conditions conducive to its power have been an unchanging canon of Polish political thinking. The memory of Mieszko I, Boleslaus the Brave and Boleslaus the Wrymouthed who, countering

the feudal tradition, tried in a divided Poland to safeguard the country's unity through a seignorial principle or, at least, to lay a foundation for reunification at a later date). The memory of Ladislas the Ell and Casimir the Great are not merely the memories of their victories on the battlefields but also memories of their actions--total political, economic actions and decisions in the areas of culture and science which strengthened the underpinnings of Polish statehood and were essential for an independent motherland for Polish nations--a state with its own emblem and flag, its own laws and its own culture and educational system.

Outstanding thinkers of the past: Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Jan Ostrorog, Chancellor Zamoyski, Reverend Hugo Kollataj and the speaker of the Stanislaus Malachukowski have all seen that a strong, law-abiding state to be the guarantor of national sovereignty and social development. They cautioned against blind self-interest and partisanship, against "the golden liberty" and against putting class or clan interests ahead of the national interests--Polish reason of the state which could be implemented only by a government controlled by the citizens, yet a strong government.

Throughout our thousand year history whenever society was torn apart by inner contradictions, feuds and strife, the state was weakened and reduced from an actor to puppet in the international arena. At all times, whenever the thesis state power was inconsistently implemented, society waned and rates of economic, social and cultural growth fell back.

Even at the times of most serious failure and defeat during a century and a half of enslavement the vision of statehood as a material symbol of independence gave impulse for action and struggle. What were the successive national uprisings--the Kosciuszko insurrection, the November 1831 and the January 1863 uprisings--if not armed upheavals meant to restore Polish statehood? What else, if not the striving to reinstitute the state motivated by the actions of a democratic nobility, various groups of the populist movement and, beginning in the last quarter of the 19th century, the programs and contests of a powerfully expanding worker movement? Their goal, always and invariably, has been the state--a Polish, independent state of all Poles.

The statehood concept and endeavor for the sake of a Polish state are, in fact, attest to our remembrance of nameless insurgents in the Wielkopolska uprising the Silesians who three times rose up in arms, the Kwiatkowskis, Grabakis, and Swietoslawskis.

Although, as the poet said, there was a score of wrongs to be settled in the motherland, those laying down their lives in September 1939 to defend a Polish nation state, not a class state, were communists, socialists and populists who fought side by side with their political opponents to defend their own--yet at the same time common--state.

The state is neither a myth nor an embodiment of an ideal. It is simply the motherland defined by frontiers, laws, government and administration, symbols and social order. The state is a place on the globe that is recognized and guaranteed. The fact that so much blood had to be spilled by May 1945 in the fight for this place should make it even more precious and deserving of esteem.

Throughout 36 difficult years, we have all jointly been building a new independent Poland again, and new in its idea of social justice, its Piast-set boundaries, and its friendship and alliance with its neighbor--a world power guaranteeing our peaceful existence and survival between the Bug and the Odra [Oder] rivers. In the course of those 36 years socialism has become tantamount to the political awareness of an overwhelming majority of the Poles, a choice so much accepted and so deeply embedded in our thinking that everything that has been a distortion and sham of socialism encountered responses of protests and anger from millions of citizens.

These were not reactions against socialism or the socialist state. They were protests against errors made by people who wanted to use the red banner as a cover for their activities, and against a model of the clannish socialism" dominated by a chosen few who saw Leninist standards and socialist democracy as empty words and cliches.

After all, despite all the errors, distortions and even inequities, we have been jointly building up Poland, (we started building) a state that had been destroyed, that had no major industry and a--to this day neglected-- agricultural sector, we started rebuilding a culture and educational [system] that did not match the needs and aspirations of the nation. For 36 years, in toil and hardship often beyond measure and, at times, wasting our potential and resources, we, together, have been developing this state, our own Polish state. And, despite the crisis besetting us, despite the nationwide and personal problems, we need not be ashamed of the past years. That which has been done is what was possible, permitted by the possibilities and also--bluntly put--by the limitations of the leaders' economic and political horizons that let itself be felt.

The Polish socialist state is our common possession. It is our achievement and only hope. Thirty-six million citizens have no other place under the sun. Hence the overriding need these days for agreement consensus and unity despite variance, the ability to perceive fundamental goals while setting aside petty particular interests.

Our concern about the state and its present and future probably ranks with the anxieties of Zeromski who through his hero in *SPRINGTIME* demanded from the helmsmen of the Polish state to show the courage of a Lenin in dealing with the reforms that would render the independent state into a state of justice.

Today that justice is contained in the laws. It is our bounden duty to embody it in the formula for democracy and actualize it through work. The motherland is, in fact, a great collective obligation, wrote Cyprian Kamil Norwid, and in the words of the first president of reborn Poland, Gabriel Narutowicz the state is the sanctity of Polish survival and the Polish national flag.

These thoughts are worth holding in our minds and hearts precisely at this time. During these most difficult days.

8795

CSO: 2600/140

EWA FIALA COMMENTARY ON 'STATE OF WAR' PROCLAMATION

PM231441 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 1

[Report by Ewa Fiala: "A Burden That Will Bring Calm"]

[Text] On Sunday morning, many of us experienced a profound psychological shock. People at home listened over and over again to the speech of the premier-general, to the announcements and resolutions of the Council of State, the proclamation of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] that had been formed during Saturday night and to communiques.

Until we actually went out into the street, came into contact with the town, reached our place of work, the internal instability was tremendous, overpowering. For no one--apart, perhaps, from experienced legal experts blessed, furthermore, with a vivid imagination--could appreciate the implications of what was happening. No one really knew what was, and would be our participation in the days to come.

"Curfew," silent telephone lines, severe, very severe sanctions--warnings of the consequences of transgressions, drastic restraints on liberties--all these are the realities of mid-December 1981. This burden and its accompanying inconveniences are tremendous. They will be the burden of every citizen. There is no reason to hide this, nor indeed any possibility of doing so.

However, it is necessary for each one of us to have a sincere and honest talk with oneself and answer a few of the most simple questions for oneself. Was there any other solution? Are the rigors that have been imposed upon us any harder to bear than the civil war we were on the brink of? Than the threat of bloodshed?

For it is not as though the conciliatory hand we have been extending these past months had turned into a clenched fist....It was that conciliatory hand (as the premier said) that met with a clenched fist, and could not break through the wall that was being constantly reinforced with unrest, with increasingly fierce conflicts, permanent protests, strikes, and the blocking of every initiative aimed at restoring calm and opening the way to leading the country out of the crisis.

At the moment, there is nothing in Poland now that we need more than calm and work. and that is by no means a contradiction. The state of war that has been declared should assure that for us.



It was against calm and against work that the "Solidarity" leadership proclaimed its resolutions in Radom and Gdansk. As if the 500 days from which each one of us had carried some unhappy news of a strike, a conflict, a street incident, of crimes, increasing with the wave of social unrest and growing anarchy, a new threat was being prepared for us. Rallies in the large city centers, a general strike, groups of 10 or 100 men leading "Solidarity" against the Party, against authority, against the Sejm, against the Polish constitution. Against People's Poland.

The hand of authority has not become a clenched fist. It has reached out to grasp the only, the last remaining rescue plank. A rescue for the Homeland. At such a time, difficulties and restrictions have to be borne. In such circumstances, one must not only have the awareness but also the assurance that the severe, extraordinary measures and sanctions do not apply to society, are not directed against the citizens, the trade unionists. They can affect only those who, aware of the goal for which they aimed, were the sowers of national unrest, were stirring up conflicts, and intended to start a fratricidal war.

Monday, the first day of the week under the state of war, so shocking and so difficult for many of us, certainly for very many of us, to accept, passed by quickly. There was no news that was too difficult to bear. The people, who have been entrusted with the maintenance of calm, and law and order in the country are equal to the task. Like soldiers, like Polish soldiers! Let us try to keep pace with them. We have a considerably easier task: to work and to remain calm.

CSO: 2600/180

## WARSAW UNIVERSITY RECTOR INTERVIEWED

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish 29 Nov 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prof Dr Henryk Samsonowicz, rector of Warsaw University, by Jerzy Klechta: "What We Do Not Want -- the Nation Knows for Certain"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Jerzy Klechta: I would like to begin with the question of what would happen if here and now, under the circumstances in which our country now finds itself, a dictatorship government, let us say, would come to power. Assuming that this government would take the economy in hand and supply the shops with goods, would society today, after August [1980], accept such a solution?

Henryk Samsonowicz: The study of the future and the advancement of various hypotheses is always rather risky. But personally I am convinced that our society would not tolerate any form of dictatorship at this time. And for me the alternative is only the method of opposition to the dictatorship, that is, whether it is to be an active opposition or withdrawal into oneself. At the same time, I can guess why you asked the question. For it is a fact that as all possible sorts of opinions and trends are being revealed and given vent to, some populist tendencies, apparent in different groups, are also very strong. Perhaps even in the groups that are ostensibly more leftist, these tendencies are stronger. Ostensibly leftist... In other countries, as we know, this led to the worst consequences. It led to fascism and totalitarianism of the worst kind.

[Question] We hear and read that a year "after August" we find ourselves one step away from ruin. Could our inability be the result of a lack of consistency? What dangers...

[Answer] After the August explosion it developed that all of the forecasts, including the sociological forecasts, to say nothing of the economic ones, were erroneous. A society formed, or is forming, which none of the present standards and none of the present sociological models was able to foresee. A society whose dissimilarity from everything which had been in Poland is so obvious that it now evades all forecasts. This is occurring because new qualities are developing, both positive and negative values. But these new values have meant that almost all of the past knowledge about society has had to be scrapped. Very simply, what we have now cannot be compared with past events, either in the 19th or the 20th century. I believe that there can be no talk about a collapse; the results of what happened a year ago and during the past

year are irreversible. Even if--in answer to your first question--someone were to come who would establish a dictatorship, he could not revoke not only certain institutional phenomena (for these are the easiest to revoke) but above all he could not change the social mentality, certain mental states which have already been developed and which exist at this time.

What is the danger? The very clear danger, of which all politicians must be aware, is society's tremendous weariness. Weariness under extremely difficult conditions, under living conditions that are very hard for families, for everyone. Weariness, however, is a very poor advisor. Weariness causes all sorts of tensions and nervous states which can lead to very dangerous effects. We must tell ourselves that we must do everything to avoid such false steps, but I do not believe it is possible to cancel everything which this past year gave to our society. No matter what may happen, these things are irrevocable.

As a historian, I will cite a very pessimistic example, but history, despite appearances, does not repeat itself. The May 3rd Constitution lasted a year; it functioned exactly a year and two months. The May 3rd Constitution fell, but, firstly, please realize what a tremendous role it played not during that year, for of course not much could be changed then, but during the next 20 years when it gave strength and hope and shaped the nation's mentality and made it possible to endure 150 years of subjugation. And during all the misfortunes that were connected with the lack of our own state. Secondly, the May 3rd Constitution, which changed a very bad political system at a very bad time, despite the fact that it was revoked by force, demonstrated some matters so clearly that the new Grodno constitutions had to adopt some of the ideas of this constitution. These constitutions were supposed to be a denial of the gains of the May 3rd law. Of course, they were a denial of the gains, but some of the ideas, as a matter of fact, had to be adopted. In short, there can be no return from certain events and some things..

I believe, however, that what occurs in Poland will depend on us alone. And the fact that all kinds of aspects of international politics and international economy come into play is, of course, obvious.

[Question] We are constantly seeking and elaborating on the truth, speaking the truth. There are people who say very unhesitatingly that we have cast aside the two or three faces which most people, in spite of themselves, showed: one face at home, and another at their jobs and among their colleagues. Is this true? What is the historical truth? In what way can it help the average person? Today we are dealing with a rebirth of the historical sciences. I know that my question is somewhat rhetorical, but nevertheless it is a fundamental question: What does historical truth give a person? Does it allow him to live better, with more dignity?

[Answer] Probably here we must clearly state what is history and what is historical truth. I understand historical truth to be a subjective, honest relationship to the examined past. For example, in writing about various problems from the 15th century I believe that I am making errors. However, my conscience is clear; I am acting in the best faith. If, under the influence of some kind of political circumstances I were to write a patent lie or a half-truth, then I would not be telling a historical truth, and this should be censured. Why does society need history?

Simply because society needs to be aware of itself, of its identity. A very broad identity. We are not a nation located only in space. We are a nation steeped in time. We want to identify ourselves and we are identifying ourselves. We are linked also with the great periods of our history—with the first Piasts, Poland's Golden Age, with moments that are full of glory, such as the aforementioned May 3rd Constitution and the rebuilding of the Polish state after the First World War. This, certainly, is ours. We are also linked with the tragic moments, such as the Polish September, the Warsaw Uprising and the entire resistance movement and many other difficult and dark pages of history. We need to identify ourselves because—and here we come to a certain misfortune connected with history—the false treatment of certain concepts of the nation have led to the growth of a feeling of shame for our past. And totally unnecessarily, for we have a great deal to be proud of, we have a beautiful history. Above all, we cannot instill into the beliefs of an adult or a child that whatever he does will always be wrong. That he should do something else, that precisely what he did not do is the greatest glory of his past life. We cannot tell him that he always had it bad and that in his home there were always only disturbances. And such a conception, very likely independent of the intentions of its creators, produced the worst possible results, for it brought the nation to a state of deep frustration. August 1980 freed millions of people of all sorts of complexes, including national ones.

During the last thousand years our achievements compared with the greatest world achievements in the field of construction of a social model, in economy, and even culture. Knowledge about this is the element for ridding ourselves of certain complexes. And here lies some danger, the danger of throwing the baby out with the bath water. That is, we are reluctant to speak about our various slips, shortcomings, errors. Although Pilsudski became a hero of the first order, no one even wants to hear about the fact that there was a Bereza [i.e., Bereza Kartuska], no one wants to hear about the Brest Fortress trial [i.e., 1931-1932 trial of accused Pilsudski opponents]. No one wants to hear about the fact that the May upheaval was not a praiseworthy event. The upheaval was a negation of legality, about which we are now concerned. We are justifiably pointing to our greatness in the past centuries, but why, at the same time, do we not want to admit that we conducted, since the 17th century, a false nationalistic policy in the Ukraine. Some say that this would be to slander ourselves. This is not true. In order to know the truth about oneself one must know both his attributes as well as his faults. I agree that it is more pleasant to talk about the attributes, but unfortunately we must also remember the faults, both in the collective memory as well as the individual memory.

A person also needs a mental balance, which was absent because the official historical knowledge differed from that emanating from the home, from the traditions. A nationwide schizophrenia developed, a formation of an alter ego. As a result, the crisis of confidence deepened.

And of course this lack of confidence continues in us and weighs heavily on us. A phenomenon has appeared which we are now suffering with full effects, a bad phenomenon: that which does not agree with the required interpretation appears to be real. And this is just as serious a mistake and just as large a danger as the mistakes about which I spoke previously. Because the fact that the school textbooks on history between the two world wars were not good does not mean that all the textbooks were bad.



[Question] We are searching for our roots. We are seeking the truth so as to be able to draw a picture of the future. But does the nation with full certainty know where it is going? I am afraid that the future appears to be, to put it mildly, murky.

[Answer] Our nation does not have a clear vision of the future. It knows only what it wants. And it knows this only very generally. It knows that it wants the good things, like democracy, tolerance, lawfulness, and justice. But these are only very general slogans.

[Question] How are you able to bear everything that has been in a democratic manner placed on your shoulders? To be the rector of the largest and most important educational institution in Poland under circumstances of passionate ferment is an honor, but it is also a burden. The Polish intelligentsia of the late 20th century is being educated in this building. It will have to lift up this country, push it onto new tracks, change it.

[Answer] I must say that I make my life easier by dividing the responsibility fairly among my colleagues at the University. Furthermore, we began quite earlier at the University to search for better forms. We were probably 10 to 20 percent successful. But we do have here some definite results, some definitely tested forms of action. For example, the activities of the Senate and its commissions. Naturally, I must take responsibility for everything that happens here. I must sometimes make decisions without waiting to see what the University's public forum says. But please believe me, I do not feel alone because sometimes I simply accept, both for information purposes and for action, that which groups appointed for this purpose have decided. This does not mean that life here is easy and can be endured for long. Certainly not. Sometimes I am so tired that I do not have the strength to worry.

[Question] The last question. Assuming that there is no turning back from what happened in August 1980, what will we be like at the end of this century?

[Answer] Predictions for the future are not my strong point, although I can say how I would like it to be. I would like for our nation to create a model of action which would be the envy of everyone, both in the East and the West. I would like it to create forms of interpersonal contact which would be a model worthy of imitation. For envy does not exclude attempts at imitation. I would like us to combine everything which is good in our present system with everything that is good and just in the systems of other countries in the world, whether western or southern, or any others. I would like us to rise up and consider our history, our civilizational achievements, and consider our economic potential. For truly we are a country, a nation, that is wealthy.

9295

CSO: 2600/151



DECREE OF EQUIPMENT USED IN MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 27 Nov 81 p 1

[Council of State Decree Modifying Law No 33/1968 on the Training of the Youth for the Defense of the Country]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:  
Sole article--Law No 33/1968 on the training of the youth for the defense of the country, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 69 of 31 July 1978, is modified as follows:

1. Article 17 will read as follows:

"Article 17--The Ministry of National Defense supplies arms and ammunition, the necessary materials for maintenance, compasses, gas masks, regulations, schedules and other instructional material needed in the training of the youth for the defense of the country."

2. Article 18 paragraph 1 will read as follows:

"Weapons earmarked for use in training the youth for the defense of the country, maintenance materials, small shots, as well as ammunition for small caliber weapons, fire marking equipment, compasses, gas masks and other instructional materials, are given for safekeeping and use, by the organs of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, to the units in which the training centers operate."

3. Article 23 will read as follows:

"Article 23--The ministries producing small caliber weapons, compressed air weapons and ammunition for them, compasses and other materials needed in training the youth for the defense of the country, ensure that they are manufactured under the conditions established by mutual agreement with the Ministry of National Defense."

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 26 November 1981  
No 338

CSO: 2700/119

INVESTMENTS, CONSTRUCTIONS BODY TRANSFERRED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 97, 30 Nov 81 p 2

[Decree of the Council of State on the Transfer of the State General Inspectorate for Investments-Constructions to the State Planning Committee]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The State General Inspectorate for Investments-Constructions will operate, as of the date of the present decree, in the framework of the State Planning Committee, in accordance with provisions referring to its organization and operation in Council of State Decree No 264/1976 and in accordance with Law No 8/1977 on ensuring the durability, safety, functionality and quality of constructions and the Law No 9/1980 on Investments.

Article 2--The maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the State General Inspectorate for Investments-Constructions is specified in the annex which is an integral part of the present decree.<sup>1)</sup>

1) The annex is communicated to the institutions concerned.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 30 November 1981  
No 348

CSO: 2700/119

SYMPOSIUM ON CRIME PREVENTION HELD IN BUCHAREST

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Article: "National Symposium"]

[Excerpts] On 11 and 12 December, at the faculty of law in Bucharest there was a national symposium on "The principles of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party in regard to the ways and means of preventing and combatting infractions," organized by the office of the prosecutor general, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of the Interior, the Supreme Tribunal, the Union of Communist Youth, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and the Association of Jurists.

Participating in the symposium were representatives of the leadership of the organizing institutions and ministries, scientific researchers in the field of the social sciences, university cadres, party activists and representatives of youth organizations and of other mass and public organizations, specialists from the organs of the office of the prosecutor general, the justice organs and the Ministry of the Interior.

The report presented by Comrade Nicolae Popovici, the prosecutor general of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the plenary session opening the proceedings of the symposium, the scientific reports and papers presented in the three sections, as well as the discussions, treated problems dealing with the ideas of the Romanian Communist Party and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, in regard to the application of penal law in the present stage of development of our society, the participation of the collective, of the youth organizations and of other mass and public organizations and in regard to the role of scientific research in the field of criminology, in preventing and combatting anti-social manifestations and other violations of the laws and norms of social coexistence. Matters related to the tasks assigned to all educational factors in the activity of the formation and development of the socialist awareness of the masses, in light of the resolutions of the 12th party congress on the development of the political and juridical socialist awareness of the citizens were discussed.

CSO: 2700/120

# DISCUSSION ON PREVENTING, COMBATTING CRIME CONTINUES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 81 pp 14-17

[Article presenting letters to the editorial staff of ERA SOCIALISTA from Dr Constantin Iacovisac, Major Anghel Godeanu of the Ministry of the Interior, Gheorghe Barbulescu, president of the Sector No 1 Court in Bucharest, and Constantin Paunescu of the Institute of Pedagogical and Psychological Research: "Concepts and Practice in Preventing and Combatting Crime"]

[Text] Iacovisac: The discussion published in issue No 12/1981 of this magazine referred to problems of an especially current nature whose optimum resolution also depends to a great degree upon improvements in criminal legislation. The opinions expressed by the participants (it is good that in such discussions controversial points of view appear) open the possibilities for a broader dialogue.

As was also maintained in the discussion, it is necessary to have a differentiation in the punishments applied to minors according to the seriousness of the crimes committed and especially for very serious crimes, such as those against the lives of the people. I feel, however, that it is not necessary to reintroduce prison sentences for minors since, depending upon the gravity of the crime, the punishment could be ensured by maintaining the current educational measures (updated and improved with regards to the length of the measures as well as the manner of carrying them out).

In this regard, we could increase the length of the detention period according to the seriousness of the crime and the degree of the minor's social danger, organizing a system of reeducational institutes within which an institute could operate that has a stricter program. This option and the arguments for this solution are based upon the experience of applying prison sentences, a punishment which, in its content, could not be too greatly differentiated in comparison to the educational measure of interning minors in a special school, as well as upon the fact that special schools have those means of efficient influence that are capable of ensuring the social recuperation of minors, even those who have committed especially serious crimes.

The current special work and reeducational school for minors is based upon a regime of order and discipline within which the minors carry out productive activities, are trained in a skill and continue their obligatory 10 years of education. During school vacations, the minors do not leave the school, but rather carry out productive activities in the production workshops and at the annexed agricultural farm. In exceptional cases and only on the basis of certain special results in their work, education and discipline, minors are allowed to leave to spend a short period of time

with their parents, with the provision that the family will provide appropriate educational conditions. It can be noted that in these circumstances no one can speak of internment in a special work and reeducation school as not being a measure that restricts a person's freedom.

We emphasize that even the current forms of the institution can be further improved, with the elaboration of new legislation being a good opportunity. For especially serious crimes, of the type referred to in the discussions by comrades Iulian Poenaru and Simona Petrovici, the maximum punishment of 5 years could be increased while in the case of the laws for executing these sentences there could be a provision for a differentiated and more severe means of carrying out these punishments. Clearly, in this situation it is necessary to have an administrative framework that will rigorously ensure this separation and differentiated treatment (something that currently is not being done), as well as a just individualized approach to the punishments given out.

The minors and young people interned in such recuperative institutes have great age differences (they could be 14 to 15 years old and could be as old as 22 to 23 years of age), they have a varied level of skills and education (some have only several years of school and are not skilled, while others are in stage I of high school and have a skill) and they were interned for serious, but extremely varied crimes (beginning with robberies that were committed a number of times or under violent circumstances up to rape and murder). Through the new regulations, we can create not just a single type of institute, but a system of institutes within which we will be able to achieve a differentiation in the reeducational treatment according to danger posed by the minor, his age, educational level and degree of recuperability of the minor. This system will be able to provide a much greater level of recuperability than minors' prisons or even the current institutions.

The experience accumulated to date and the studies that have been carried out over the years demonstrate that the phase of internment in a reeducational institute must obligatorily be followed and continued by the phase of socioprofessional reintegration after their release from the institute. This second phase must, however, be better organized than in the present. In this regard, the law on carrying out punishments should more clearly state not only the tasks and responsibilities of those responsible for the integration, but also the sanctions for those cases where they fail to adhere to the law.

Codeanu: In my opinion, the problem of reeducating criminals is a problem of great social optimism. The social task of reeducating criminals involves assuming certain greater responsibilities and - and why not? - even risks, sometimes feeding doubts and other times the hope that the person who has seriously violated society's values, the person who has offended us by his crime will someday be just like all other people who did not violate the law. Our criminal policy involves a special strategy and organization, calls upon the combined efforts of all of society and is based upon realism since the process of reeducation can not be achieved automatically by itself and it is not free of difficulties that can hamper, under certain conditions, the recuperation and resocialization of those persons who through their reprobable behavior attempt to avoid the efforts made by society.



The actions for reeducation and social reintegration are very difficult to achieve in practice, especially in cases of adult criminals and most of all repeaters. For that reason I think that the social effort regarding reeducation must be first of all directed towards the young people who committed crimes, up to 21 years of age, expressing a special concern that these people do not become hardened criminals. Being persons who are in the midst of development and having a high level of suggestibility, there are sufficient reasons for us to believe that up to this age the negative characteristics of their behavior can be corrected - as was also shown during the discussions - under conditions of an adequate reeducational treatment.

In the case of young people between the ages of 18 and 21 who are sentenced to prison terms, we have been experimenting since April 1978 with a specific system of reeducation, which cannot, however, "go beyond" the framework of the existing legal regulations. The main directions of this system were to acquaint the young person with work, order and discipline, to train him in a skill that can be used in the national economy, to help him to complete his studies in general education (primary, middle and high schools) and to help him to understand the opportunities that he has for reintegration into society after completing his sentence.

With the help of other authorities (enterprises, schools, inspectorates of the Ministry of Education and Training, and youth organizations), we have obtained some good results, but judging by the most valid indicator of efficiency - the prevention of repeat crimes - we cannot say we are satisfied.

A recent survey conducted in Bucharest with regards to the manner of socioprofessionally reintegrating young people who have been released told us that 70 percent no longer committed crimes (with a great number being employed in work and practicing the skills learned in prison). About 12 percent are known to have committed new crimes and the other 18 percent were not reflected in the survey since they had moved away from their known addresses and no information was available about them. Similarly, we noted that after their release (on conditions) from prison very few of those who benefitted from this act of clemency immediately got jobs (the majority of them showed up for employment after more than a month from the time of their release, giving diverse reasons, including the need for a period to "relax" after serving their sentence). Only a small number continued their studies in general education that were begun but not finished in prison and others "were travelling" without any purpose through various places.

The aspects shown by the survey implicitly lead to the conclusion that there is need to make improvements to the system of social control in the case of these young people. I think that we should not consider the reeducational process completed at the point when people are released from prison, just as, similarly, I think that there could be substantial improvements to the current regulations regarding the length of incarceration sentences given to young people up to age 21 who have committed crimes and to those dealing with the specific content of the sentence and release from prison.

Proposing reeducation as an objective means that we are proposing that the person who violated the law will firmly believe in this objective, which he will see as something that can be achieved in a useful period of time when life will still allow him to apply in practice the reeducation he received while serving his sentence.

The program for carrying out a prison sentence should be regulated in such a way so as to offer the possibility for the progressive transfer of the prisoner, in accordance with his receptiveness to the reeducation methods, from a program of severity to semi-guidance and supervised self-control. In this manner, we could shape three stages in which the prisoner would be placed in accordance with the progress that he shows. A first stage - of disciplining, professional training and completing general education studies - that would last at least one-third of the sentence; a second stage to which the young person would have access only if he gives sufficient proof that he is adapting to the requirements of collective work and the norms of behavior. This would consist of moving the young person into a system of work without being under guard where he could work in and improve his trade skills (even in the enterprise where it is foreseen that he will be employed in the future), but with his housing and educational program being continued in prison; the third stage, influenced by his current movement through the other two, would consist of the opportunity of transforming the remainder of the sentence (which would not be greater than one-fourth of the sentence) into a punishment that could be carried out under the supervision of the work collective, without depriving the person of his freedom, with this period continuing until the complete expiration of the initial sentence. It is understood that the failure to adhere to the required conditions during the last stage to lead to returning the person to prison where he would serve out his sentence, but under the program established for adults.

It would be especially necessary for the assignment of these people to work and their post-sentence assistance to be a major desire for all parties involved in order to increase the efficiency of resocialization actions. Similarly, we need to achieve a unified coordination of social reintegration actions and to broaden the framework of cooperation and information with the social authorities right from the point of carrying out the reeducation process and especially with the prisoner's former or future work collective members. In this manner, more persons will be involved in the reeducation process from outside the prison who can have a greater influence in guiding the prisoner.

Barbulescu: As someone who works in justice, I feel that the discussion published in the pages of this magazine raises some problems of a theoretical, but also practical nature whose resolution will contribute to a better and more unified application of the norms dealing with the punishment of antisocial deeds.

The experience to date has confirmed the justness of the decision that has allowed the process of reeducating people who have committed crimes and do not pose a high level of danger to society to be carried out, usually, without depriving them of their freedom under the supervision of work collectives in the socialist units and by carrying out a useful activity. The judges, the persons who pronounce the decisions on those who have committed crimes and other deeds dangerous to society, have the express obligation to go to the socialist units where those who have been sentenced are serving their terms. On these occasions, we judges realized that some collectives that have been tasked with the supervision of convicted persons too easily give up when faced with a "resistance" on the part of some of these convicts and are "disarmed" by the rebuff of those who refuse to work and carry out their tasks and who repeatedly miss work, continuing to exhibit antisocial behavior and committing reprobable deeds. I am convinced that some collectives for guidance and reeducation

confined themselves merely to making formal observations on such recalcitrant persons and to measures lacking any educational or even coercive efficiency, and limit themselves too quickly and easily to requesting a cancellation of the punishment.

At the same time, the on-the-scene analysis that we have conducted show that some members of the guidance and reeducation collectives do not understand the normative acts and especially Law No 23/1969 regarding the carrying out of sentences, and as a result are not capable of adopting those legal methods necessary to appropriately organize the activities for supervising and guiding convicted persons. The elimination of this shortcoming could be accomplished by a thorough preparation and training of those persons (and even the heads of the units) called upon to carry out the functions of social reeducation and recuperation in the middle of the collective.

Similarly, a better cooperation is necessary between the organs of justice, the prosecutor's office, the militia and the heads of the enterprises where persons are assigned to serve their sentences on-the-job. Practice shows that each of these organs is limited to fulfilling its own program for following up on the way the sentence is being served within the collective without being involved in bringing together the activities and actions undertaken at the level of the courts, the prosecutor's office and the militia sections. Because of a lack of coordination and operative information on the part of certain units where these convicted persons are located, it is not always possible to maintain a clear record on the process of reeducating and resocializing these convicts, with "the alarm" to the legal organs or to those of public order coming too late in such cases and with those who were withdrawn from supervision being listed as "disappeared" from their place of domicile.

The exigencies of a legal and efficient recuperative activity require the people working in justice, the militia and the prosecutor's office to demonstrate much more firmness with regards to persons who commit acts of social parasitism and to ensure the trial of these persons in the presence of a broad public audience. The experience of conducting on-the-scene trials attests to the overwhelming influence of the collective upon the guilty parties, contributing at the same time to the creation of a powerful current of opinion supporting the prevention of antisocial acts and deeds and against those who would be "tempted" to set out on the path of crime.

It should be stressed that in those units where there is a powerful collective and a climate of order and discipline the reeducation process evolves positively and the convicts are integrated into social affairs after they serve their sentences, with some remaining in the collective in which they were assigned after the completion of their sentences. In this regard we should give as examples the workers collectives at C.A.T.C Jilava and Group 5 Worksite in Bucharest where, as a result of permanent supervision and persevering concern for the reeducation of convicts, good results were obtained in social recuperation actions.

I differ from the point of view expressed in the discussion by Simona Petrovici in the sense that for especially serious crimes minors should be sanctioned in such a manner so as to provide an appropriate punishment that will go beyond the limits to which they can currently be sanctioned. Actually, an appropriate punishment



for an extremely high level of social danger in some of the crimes committed by minors requires the imposing of certain punishments that deprive them of their freedom when they commit especially serious crimes (crimes of violence and so forth). I have this opinion since the step of internment of certain minors, as applied today, does not correspond to the serious social danger of certain crimes that have been committed (many of these minors are close to 18 years of age). At the same time, the deprivation of freedom would have a greater preventative effect.

Paunescu: I feel that the discussion raises some essential problems for understanding the spirit and the meaning of our criminal policy. Actually, the main problems were discussed in a realistic manner regarding the problems confronting those who apply the laws or contribute to the prevention of antisocial acts.

Since psychologists have special tasks from this point of view, I would like to refer to a problem revealed in the discussions with the participants: the relationship between the prevention of "latent delinquency" and the attitudes of expectancy expressed by some educators, social organs and so forth, with regards to the commission of antisocial acts.

It is known that antisocial manifestations constitute a serious perturbation in a person's mechanism for integrating with others. Can they be foreseen and, on this basis, be prevented before they are committed? This question is essential for any legal system, for any society. If the answer to this question is affirmative, a second question is immediately shaped: What methods do we adopt and which specialists do we call upon? The answer comes just as quickly: educators, psychologists, doctors, lawyers and sociologists. Their methods will be based upon understanding reality and the factors that determine or favor antisocial behavior. Can they be identified, mastered and neutralized?

For example, the urban environment is considered by specialists, under certain conditions, a factor favoring criminal behavior. Thus, for example, in some very congested areas of large cities there are records of problems of adapting to school and problems of behavior. An appropriate response to this, however, has not been formulated. On the contrary, as was pointed out by comrade Nicolae Dan during the discussions, some teaching faculty sometimes confine themselves to the formal "transmission" of a school program in a non-attractive, non-pedagogical manner, frequently stressing the cases of informational supersaturation to the detriment of civic education and the creation of civilized behavior. Such a "didactic activity" sometimes produces stress effects which, when added to other factors favoring deviant behavior, such as a lack of control and a permanent education guidance in the family, school dissatisfaction, involvement in negative street groups, a disorderly life and so forth, is expressed in non-participation in learning, including in learning and mastering certain moral-social values. These students adopt a rebellious attitude and an avoidance of groups.

On the basis of certain deficiencies in family education and the influence of the corrupt street environment, can this social attitude perhaps constitute a factor favoring illicit behavior? The answer is yes. This is due to the "escape" of the "problem" student from the attention of the educational organs, the rejection of social integration actions by those having reprobable behaviors and a lack of concern

on the part of certain educational authorities (teachers, professors, youth organizations) for combining the educational program with a substantial program for education and for uncovering and treating the cases where there is a failure to adapt to school and civic affairs. In some schools, I encountered students exhibiting signs of maladjustment - under some conditions the starting point towards criminal behavior. Their precarious school situation, the discord in the families from which they come and their critical mental health status were known, but neither the professors nor the doctors had taken the measures that they needed.

Through this passivity, was "the opening" perhaps not made easier towards criminality? Is not the recovery of a minor or a young criminal made perhaps more difficult to obtain than the reintegration of one who merely exhibits criminal tendencies? These are the questions that specialists frequently encounter, but unfortunately only after the commission of a serious antisocial act.

In this regard, it is understood that the prevention of dangerous violations plays a decisive role. It is even more necessary since "the special cases" are known. In this context, I agree with the point of view expressed in the discussions that the efficiency of prevention requires firm, effective actions and the renunciation of types of ideas like "let's wait and see if the minor straightens himself out." Such an expectational approach is still encountered in some schools or work collectives. It consists of tolerating certain antisocial behaviors and a climate of a lack of discipline and disorder. To know that someone has deviant tendencies and to do nothing to prevent them, waiting for the commission of a crime and only after that to begin using the mechanisms of correction, can perhaps be the greatest mistake of an educator, but this mistake is many times "committed." Frequently, it is expressed through a lack of responsibility on the educator's part, the family and so forth towards "the little antisocial outbursts."

The discovery, prevention and neutralization of what is called "latent delinquency" are the forms of the efficiency of social education actions that involve the cooperation of all the factors (doctors, psychologists, lawyers and so forth) and the scientific organization of an integrated system of prevention and reeducation. Through the operational and actual convergence of all of these factors we can ensure a multilateral and efficient prevention of antisocial manifestations among the ranks of the minors. Otherwise, the concept and practice of decriminalization can be compromised, remaining simple theoretical desiderata.

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## SUCSESSES, SHORTCOMINGS OF FILM INDUSTRY REVIEWED

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[Article by Calin Caliman: "The Romanian Film Industry in Search of a Personality"]

[Text] Despite all the differences of opinion noted, the recent discussions regarding the present and the future of the national film industry, which involves the artists, the audiences and the critics, have a "common denominator:" the desire to contribute in one way or another to the qualitative growth of the production of films according to the importance of the social-political and cultural-educational functions of cinematography in the overall group of complex concerns in creating an advanced socialist awareness, according to the importance of the film industry's responsibilities to the realities of contemporary Romania, according to the demands of a public that has naturally progressive exigencies and - why not? - according to the creative aspirations themselves of certain artists who have more than once given proof of certain superior artistic abilities. The personality of the Romanian film industry has over the years outlined its own defining characteristics (this is a piece of evidence that is beyond any discussion) and specific traits, as shown by certain timeless, durable works, recording the moments of a "spiraling" value growth with remarkable artistic highpoints. On the other hand, qualitative oscillations, contradictory arguments or even contrary arguments (detectable without too great a difficulty in the repertoire of each stage of the film industry) have hampered the stabilization of an overall picture, sometimes leaving the impression that the lines and shades of colors of this "portrait" tend to run together, to mix among themselves and to... be contradictory in a confusing drawing.

Naturally, each year of the film industry has had and will have those films that are better and poorer, it can be no other way. No film industry anywhere in the world was built only on great works. Yes, it can even be said that the outstanding artistic works of the international film industry - works that were never accidental - sometimes had long periods of accumulating various experiences. And, all the true schools of film making in the world have known how to maintain their position by consolidating the essential gains in experience. Any discussion of the Romanian film industry, I believe, must begin from this point and end up here: at the consolidation of the "principal fund" of films, authors, ideas and means of expression capable of representing authentic characteristics of the personality and at the avoidance of thematic, artistic and organizational errors that can fog the overall picture and disrupt the mechanism of creative work.

Thus, from the beginning the discussion of the basic problem of the contemporary Romanian film industry, the revealing of certain not only useful, but necessary lessons for the evolving perspective and the expected and desired qualitative leap forward cannot make abstracts of the arguments on the history of our film industry. The common duty of the artists, the critics and the spectators is to participate in the building of the desired film industry, not merely to comment on it "from afar" or sometimes with undeserved applause (for... two "bricks," let us say, narratively correctly placed one next to the other) or equally improper acidic remarks frequently made without understanding the cause or guided not by constructive purposes but by destructive ones (this sometimes still happens). The participation of this community in the creative efforts (which can be done in all kinds of ways) requires a good basic understanding of the entire creative path covered by the Romanian film industry so as not to start over and over again at "zero" in attempts at certain outstanding artistic performances and so as to use efficiently in the future the positive experiences of the past and the present.

Better than 3 decades have passed since the first production of our socialist film industry, the film by the producer Paul Calinescu, "The Valley Kings." This film marked, at the beginning of the 1950's, the inauguration of a new creative path for an old art form (even back then) going back decades, but one which could only record a very slow evolution because of certain difficult material and spiritual conditions or purely and simply stood still despite certain brave pioneers. It is not at all an accidental fact that this first film of the new Romanian film industry abandoned the realm of this plateau in order to penetrate into the center of realities, attempting to bring to life the pulse and rhythm of work in the first worksites in socialist Romania. Despite its naivete (sometimes beautiful, other times flagrant), this film with the "wrinkles" of a nonetheless revolutionary artistic time has, in a practical sense, an orientational function (which, it sometimes happens, we forget) for the evolution of national production: it shows the first (and basic, I would say) meaning of the socialist production of films and it inaugurates a course upon which nearly all the later creations of our film industry would be recorded, with artistic results that are more or less important. It is the "lesson" for the basis of films in reality and of the inspiration of life. A lesson that by definition is a participative one that stands at the basis of a number of successes on the honor roll of the Romanian film industry and it should not be forgotten for a second. It is also absolutely necessary to be continually adapted to the requirements of a constantly evolving reality.

This upward path was influenced by appearance and affirmation of a certain film industry personality that contributed decisively to the imposition and consolidation of an originality in Romanian films. We once again go back many years, but it cannot be done otherwise, to look at the masterpiece by the uncontested "master" of Romanian film comedy, Jean Georgescu, whose "Stormy Night" (inspired by Caragiale) remains a true model of creative screen work. Let us also remember the distinguished man of culture and education, Victor Iliu, and his films, especially "The Lucky Mill" with its remarkable qualities of ambiance, art and psychological analysis which have become a precious "object for study" for all the craftsmen of the seventh art form. Through a film of high civic and esthetic value such as "Woods of the Hanged,"

the producer Liviu Ciulei provided a major inspiration for the Romanian film industry, that of integrating the youngest art form into the area of effective expressions of the national culture. Then it was the turn of a Lucian Pintilie. Among his films, with deep reflections regarding the human condition in the contemporary world, "Reconstruction" remains one of the most significant and powerful films inspired by real life. Leaping over certain periods, let us stop at one of the youngest creative personalities, the producer Mircea Daneliuc, whose films demonstrate a powerful sense of observation in seeking reality and an active, firm and lucid attitude in commenting on the facts of life on the screen.

Between these chronological "extremes" there are numerous valued producers from different generations having distinct personalities in the overall scope of national production: Mircea Saucan and Iulian Mihu, Ion Popescu Gopo and Sergiu Nicolaescu, Malvina Ursianu and Lucian Bratu, Manole Marcus and Andrei Blaier, Mircea Veroiu and Dan Pita and other producers about whom we will have something to say in this article.

Why is it necessary for us to continually go over the personalities of the Romanian film industry? (We have mentioned several producers, but each creative "chapter" without a doubt has its own noted personalities, from the writers and renown cameramen to the broad "front" of certain first-class actors.) We have to because any film industry that is respected has to learn to cultivate its personality as is appropriate. All the great film industries in the world know this lesson well; the Romanian film industry still sometimes forgets this.

And, the personality of a film industry does not in a practical sense (merely) mean "the sum of creative personalities." Similarly, it is also determined by the constants having a defining nature in the creative process itself. Along this line of thinking, one of the most specific characteristics of the national film industry is, I believe, the affirmative and constructive nature of the sociopolitical and cultural-educational approach. Both through the prism of the thematic choices and in the selection of the specific film methods, our film makers in their representative works have tried to address the present and the future with the arguments of their times, offering precious "documents" about their eras and about the significant events that occurred on the level of consciousness. As a logical consequence, the political vocation of our film industry was gradually consolidated during the achievements of recent years with films like: "The Power and the Truth" by Manole Marcus, with a screen play by Titus Popovici, and "The Moment" by Gh. Vitanidis, with the screen play by Dinu Sararu - stimulating discussions regarding the qualitative changes that have occurred in the awareness of contemporary man and regarding the key problem of social responsibility, as pursued over an entire stage in the contemporary history of Romania. Through these types of films, the Romanian film industry becomes not just a witness, but an active participant in the development of contemporary society. By adding the representative force of the incursions into daily life and the prospective capacity in investigating reality (with both of these being consolidated in the production of films of current interest in recent years) and by once again stressing the permanent desire of having the specific national aspect in film making, we have before us several of the constants of the most precious content of the Romanian films produced throughout the years. "The lessons" of these constants? The renunciation of them (especially... involuntarily) has led more than once to mediocre



films that are of low civic and artistic interest, poor in substance and incapable of addressing contemporary times at the height of their real problems of life, events and feelings.

Therefore, we arrive at the main "test" of film making (of any film making): the film of current relevancy. The interest of the film makers (and the film studios) to discuss the problems of contemporary reality has increased during the recent period: this fact is also beyond any question, with the film of current relevancy practically becoming the "center of gravity" of each production year. The question, however, that is urgently asked beyond those quantitative aspects of the creative work is that regarding the educational-esthetic quality: Do Romanian films appropriately respond to the requirements of the complex process of creating and developing socialist awareness? As we will see, despite all the successes there are still large shortcomings - social-political and cultural-educational - in Romanian films with regards to reality, to the essential aspects of the multilateral and complex process of building socialism in Romania and to the problems of the life, work, events and feelings of contemporary man.

Before, however, analyzing these "shortcomings" (I would not call them "failures") of our national film production, that have practically maintained a state of dissatisfaction around the Romanian film industry over the years and not necessarily "the saint of creative dissatisfaction" that is constantly needed, let us bring into this discussion several arguments regarding improvements which, as we were saying, the film makers must keep in mind in their future attempts: they are "hurdles" under which they should no longer have to go, they are hurdles that must be overcome. Among the films of current relevancy from the mid-1970's, for example, there are several that undoubtedly consolidated the ethical and esthetic approach of our film industry: first, Mircea Daneliuc's "The Race," a sensitive and nuanced analysis of certain different worlds of contemporary thought and feelings; then, "Philip the Good," by Dan Pita which closely examined the destiny of a young man, a significant destiny for the dialectics of the changes in the awareness that have occurred in our times; Andrei Blaier's "Illustrated With Field Flowers," a film that dealt with the problem of moral responsibility with nerve and realistic verve, through the prism of one case; other films of the 1970's, such as Alexandru Tatos' "Red Apples," Malvina Ursianu's "The Passes of Love," Mircea Dragan's "Explosion," Serban Creanga's "The Owners," Timotei Ursu's "September," and Lucian Bratu's "The City Seen From Above." Even if, in part, they did not all succeed in convincing everyone, together they have an undoubted significance in consolidating the Romanian film of current relevancy and in opening certain new paths for the future. Portraits specific to the present and contemporary psychology, actions bearing the stamp of the times in which we live, problems resulting from the new social realities and relationships that are still being affirmed and furthered, questions from today's young people - all these film making contributions have considerably broadened the palette of the film dealing with currently relevant subjects. "The lesson" of these films should not be ignored either: without the "spirit of life" no film industry can discover and suggest its own identity and social-political, civic and esthetic appearance.

Actually, we can state without fear of error, even if not in a direct and explicit manner (but the idea of an "unseen hand," which is not at all new, is part of the dialectics of progress!), that "the lesson" of such films, as corroborated by the lessons of certain older films such as Mircea Saucan's "Meanderings," Lucian Bratu's "A Film With a Charming Girl" and Savel Stiopul's "The Last Night of Childhood," was brought to fruition during the evolutionary spiral of our film industry.

Actually, the 1980 film making year can be considered one of the most fertile years (I am personally inclined to even call it the most fertile) in the entire short history of the Romanian film industry. There has even been talk of a "qualitative modification of our film making landscape" - and I think rightly so. For a number of reasons I think that the creative experience of 1980 (which in itself also constitutes a "lesson") must be well analyzed and used most efficiently in future film making years and, implicitly, in the future evolutionary stages of the national film industry. We say this for a number of reasons. First, because it was not completely accepted and brought into awareness (of the public, the critics, the producers, the authorities responsible for disseminating Romanian films throughout the country and abroad, and even the artists themselves). Then, because this experience incorporates - voluntarily or involuntarily, I do not know - several of the main experiences accumulated over the years, in a practical sense closing out a stage of Romanian film making that coincides with the end of the eighth decade. Finally, because it constitutes from a thematic and stylistic point of view, if we are permitted to use this disjunction, a good "point of departure" in the general (perhaps even general?) effort to obtain a new, superior film making quality. When we say "film making quality," we are naturally thinking, moreover, of the political, social, moral, philosophical and esthetic quality of the approach to films.

Thus, 1980, an outstanding year for the national film industry, should not be viewed "in itself" as a rare and fortuitous example, but it must be viewed through the prism of its contacts, some of which were especially significant. Is it perhaps an accidental fact that precisely at the moment when national production grew within 1 year as much as in 10 it should coincide with "the outstanding year" of our film industry? No way. The task of rapidly increasing the number of films, which the party secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, asked the film industry to do as a basis for improving the quality and degree of originality of our national production, where the personality of each author could find its own distinct point of expression for satisfying certain higher exigencies, this task of high political and cultural-educational responsibility fulfilled by the film makers at the end of the last five year plan fully confirms by way of the practical results obtained the justness of the policy to qualitatively renew our film industry.

We should not at all ignore the fact that in a single film making year several films of current relevancy having large ethical and esthetic echoes were produced, such as Mircea Daneliuc's "Microphone Test" (a producer who, with this film of great sincerity having pertinent observations about life, has unleashed a true "battle of the natural" which our entire film making industry must win), Lucian Bratu's "Bride on the Train" with a screen play by D. R. Popescu (a film having profound ethical implications whose poetic realism sometimes becomes engrossing), Iosif Demain's "A Girl's Tear" with the screen play by Petre Salcudeanu (in which the authors take a careful moral x-ray of the contemporary village, exploring the mentalities



and attitudes that can facilitate and maintain ethical deviations and reprobable deeds) and an entire series of other films, like "Stop - Personnel at Lunch," "House Between the Fields," "Good Evening, Irina," "Peasant at the Opening," which broadened through the power of creative thought the palette of those films of current relevancy, pointing out problems in the life of today's young people or sanctioning the evil in people. Nor should we ignore the fact that in a single film making year our national film industry's heritage was enriched by a film of profound patriotic resonance - "Burebista" by the writer Mihnea Gheorghiu and the producer Gh. Vitanidis - or by a film of faultless cultural and esthetic content like Malvina Ursianu's "The Return of Voda Lapusneanu," in addition to other legendary pages such as "At the Crossroads of Great Storms" and "The Mountains in Flames" (the 1848 revolution as recalled by the writer Petre Salcudeanu and the producer Mircea Moldovan) or "The Stake and the Flame" (by Adrian Petringenaru, based on the homonymous novel by Eugen Uricaru).

Continuing along this line, nor should we ignore the appearance during a single film making year of two exceptional stylistic achievements - "The Pale Light of Pain" by Iulian Mihu (with the screen play by George Macovescu), a film recognized at the Moscow Film Festival, and "The Wolf Hunter" by Mircea Daneliuc (based on the novel by Dinu Sararu, "Some Peasants") - films "of art" having relevant political implications and a clear creative originality. Nor should we ignore the fact that in a single year the Romanian film industry gave the audiences of the silver screen certain far-reaching literary works such as "Ion" by Liviu Rebreanu (adapted for the screen by Petre Salcudeanu) in Mircea Muresan's films "Curse of the Land" and "Curse of Love" or "Poor Ioanide" by G. Calinescu (adapted for the screen by Eugen Barbu) in the movie version by Dan Pita, to which we could also add the films "The Last Night of Love..." by Sergiu Nicolaescu (a nonetheless "too liberal" adaptation according to Camil Petrescu) and "Loving Anastasia Passed By" by Al. Tatos (based on the homonymous novel by D. R. Popescu). Let us also mention several films "of the public" such as "Highway of Bones" (by Doru Nastase) and "The Artist, the Dollars and the Transylvanians" (by Mircea Veroiu), created at a meritorious professional level. Let us also note that a film like "The Labyrinth" (by Serban Creanga) that in other years would have undoubtedly been among the top "honors" but in the "context of 1980" it risks being left out.

It is necessary to make some summaries and draw some conclusions. The overall repertoire of 1980 presented itself (by itself) through its cultural content and through the diversity of its creative activities. The "ethical temperature" of the films of current relevancy went up, as did their effect on attitudes. The creative effort was more than once accompanied by distinct efforts to improve the films produced on an artistic level. The young artists had a broader field for their activities, which they brought to fruition with the power of young thinking... All these things are signs that we are engaged in a change of structure, especially in the concept and evolution of the film dealing with currently relevant events.

In recent years, however, in the film industry (thus, we are expanding the bounds of "the outstanding year") there also were a sufficient number of films of "current relevancy" that clouded and are still clouding, as we noted at the beginning, the

overall picture of the Romanian film industry. The causes differ from one case to another, but after we uncover several of them perhaps we will "find" several common (perhaps lost!) causes.

Why did the film industry not attain, except to a very small degree, its goals in making a film having a generous theme, such as "Investigation," for example, which aimed at discussing the implications of a work accident? The answer seems simple to us: because the center of interest of this investigation was moved from the necessary and complex human implications of the conflict towards a restrictive, technical problem, thus becoming a "discourse"... a discursive approach, losing sight of the specific nature of the film itself, not only as art, but also as a type. Moving on. Did not the film "Cumpana" perhaps move a possible drama (having ethical implications) away from reality? I think so, with the main cause being the excessive number of atemporal elements. Can a film like "The Morgan Girl" be convincing? A beautiful picture and song (in parentheses it should be said "improper") does not make it: reality is ignored by all types of artificial and even false "details about life."

Why does a melodrama like "A Song for My Son" have a reduced ethical and artistic level? Because it tries (in vain) to cram a "story about life," life itself, into a sketch, relating serious events in a jocular tone. Let us be well understood: it is very difficult to be convincing while speaking in a comic tone about a serious judicial error, an exclusion from the party, an unfounded detention, a fatal work accident, an orphaned child and a suicide. "The Third Fatal Leap" is perhaps a leap into the void of improbability. The story of certain young people at a large worksite in "Gliding" is filled with many unnatural accents in the people's manner of speaking and in their evolution. And, in the film "The Gates of Morning," a film inspired by the unusual realities of the world of fishermen, are not the lines of the conflict perhaps very "exaggerated" (until they are sometimes wiped out)?

And so forth. The examples could go on for a long time, right up to the present... Beyond identifying these "particular" causes, we can uncover several main (chronic) deficiencies which in a practical sense determine the destiny of many non-representative films. In many of the films of current relevancy, there continues to be (we are not the first to say so or for the first time) a still very narrow perspective among those in the business, and especially the writers, regarding contemporary realities: cute, luke-warm conflicts are called upon (hopelessly) to give the films the necessary fuel; aspects of too little significance for the present are called upon to speak about the rhythms of the events and feelings of our times; many new structural traits of the contemporary man have not made it to the screen; and descriptivism, schematicism and narrowmindedness continue to place their stamp on many (too many) Romanian films. The cause beyond all the causes, the "cause of the causes," is frequently identified with the lowered self-exigency of the authors - the writers, the directors and so forth - and the reduced exigency of the producers.

The "lesson" in this case among other films, and there are not too many, is offered by Mircea Daneliuc's "The Cruise," one of the few creations that continues the "powerful line" of 1980, giving it a thematic acuity and a demonstrative eloquence. "The Cruise" becomes an argument: the chance to defeat time, to convince and to provide emotions cannot but smile on those films about attitudes that succeed in

leading life towards events of art, culture and education through the filter of artistic thought and personality. Why doesn't a film like David Reu's "Personal Problems" (achieved on the basis of the valuable screen play by Grigore Zane) move towards superior artistic results? Perhaps because it is sometimes lacking the "feeling of proportions" and the "feeling of degrees"... What about Virgil Calotescu's "Ana and the Thief" (with a screen play by Francisc Munteanu)? Perhaps because it presents nothing more than the unwinding of a story... It is a decisive thing; in many of our films (even in the case of certain works of imagination and artistic virtuosity such as, for example, "Luchian" the film by the producer Nicolae Margineanu), the meditative and reflexive capacity leaves much to be desired, hampering as such the fulfillment of the political substance without which our films cannot be seen as being from a time of impressive spiritual and material changes.

Without a doubt, in the equation of the development of the Romanian film industry not just the artists and producers have an important role, not just the distributors (I repeat: in-country and abroad). The public and the critics play an important role. The Romanian film industry has good, stimulating and... patient audiences. There are seven million spectators each year at Romanian films, which is a beautiful performance. On the other hand, a fact that came out this summer at the Film Festival for Youth (an excellent initiative that was itself stimulating) is capable of provoking thought: in the discussions around the film "The Cruise," many of the young participants who saw the film were left talking about and confined to the story itself and did not succeed in going beyond this, towards the significant layers of the film. For the cinematographic culture of the audiences, especially the young people, more must be done: in order to go beyond the current evolutionary stage, the Romanian film industry needs an ever greater number of well-prepared spectators.

All these demands also require a reevaluation of criticism, in accordance with the current stage of the evolution of the Romanian national film industry. This industry is no longer a weak organism incapable of advancing without the "crutch" of critical encouragement, but, on the contrary, through the most representative works of recent years it has acquired an ideal and artistic vigor and marked personality traits that have lead it and must lead it towards the ability to accept and seek out the critical truth for a more rigorous determination of "its own awareness." That is why there is further need for a deep and substantial criticism that is attentive both to the ideas and the structure of the overall body of films and to the specific techniques that will place the accent on the content of the works being discussed without absolving it for the sake of "good intentions" and the quality of the art form. Certainly, there is not "ideal criticism" that will please everyone. But, there is a talented and responsible criticism that makes an effort to convince the greatest number of readers by using arguments. Respect for the profession and the persons under discussion is a moral imperative that is among the most important ones, as well as that of renouncing the comfortable aspects and favors of certain circumstances. The mechanism of criticism is not always spared such distortions which are unfavorable to a cinematographic record of far-reaching philosophical, moral and esthetic impact that will respond to the essential desired qualities of criticism: principledness, objectivity and combativeness.

The communist responsibility of the Romanian film industry - to reality, to the audiences and to the specific problems of our times - is constantly broader and more profound. The new quality of the Romanian film industry must from desires become deeds. This cannot be achieved except by learning the lessons of the past and having clear insights into the future in order to be able to give ethical and esthetic consistency to the films inspired by the socialist present and the near or distant past of our country and the Romanian lands. To understand well and thoroughly the constructive sense of life and the aspirations of the people and to give to this sense an ever more convincing esthetic expression through the modern means of the art of film, in ever more attractive and diverse forms having a content of ideas that is constantly richer and more original - this is the supreme responsibility of our film industry in the immediate and distant future of the coming years.

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CSO: 2700/99



## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OFFICIAL--In as much as the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Gorj County People's Council has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Petre Lungu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Gorj County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 102, 4 Dec 81 p 3]

FOREIGN TRADE CHANGES--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that as of 1 October 1981 the activity of exporting and importing pulp is transferred from the "Exportlemn" foreign trade enterprise to the "Forexim" foreign trade enterprise. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 102, 4 Dec 81 p 1]

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## BRIEFS

TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS FOR ALBANIA--A 10 December 1981 decision by the FEC (Federal Executive Council) amends a 27 November 1979 decision which permitted travel to countries with which Yugoslavia has diplomatic or consular relations even if these countries have not concluded agreements with the SFRY on eliminating the visa requirement. The amendment says that this stipulation does not pertain to travel by Yugoslav citizens to Albania. [Summary] [Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 68, 18 Dec 81 p 1747]

SENTENCED FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--Yesterday the criminal council of the Sarajevo district court sentenced Hidalet (Metina) Krasnici (1960), a student from the village of Ljesane near Pec but residing in Sarajevo, to 3 and 1/2 years in prison for hostile propaganda based on Article 133, paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code. On the basis of letters he sent from Sarajevo, a diary which he kept, conversations with various people, and a tape recording, it was established that Krasnici had committed the act of which he was accused, from April to the end of June 1981 following the counter-revolutionary events in Kosovo. Acting from positions of Albanian nationalism, he called for a change in the socialist self-management system, the dissolution of brotherhood and unity, and described the sociopolitical conditions in our country in an untrue and malicious way. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 81 p 20]

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JANUARY 20, 1982